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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

WANDERERS.

Our feet have wandered from Thy path,
  O lowly Christ of Galilee,
Sweet prophet of the helping hand,
  Meek Lord of love and sympathy.

Thy faith was but to walk with God
  With humble heart and open mind,
But we have builded shrines of stone
  In which to worship—spirit-blind!

In poverty Thy life was set;
  No place was Thine to lay Thy head;
But they must dwell in lordly pomp
  By whom our stately prayers are said.

We lift our heads in loveless prayers;
  We glory in our well-wrought creed,
Though righteousness alone avails,
  Though mercy is the only need.

Break down, O Christ, our heartless faiths,
  And give to us that spirit fine
Which feels in Thee a Comrade strong,
  In every soul a friend of Thine.

Chicago. THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIV THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1919 NUMBER 4

I would not ask whether you talk to the children about the Father and the blessed Christ in the moments which come only now and then. The true mother, through these first years, is to her children in Christ's stead. She is the way, the truth, and the life to them. And so it is scant use merely to tell them of the way. They must go in it first in your arms, or they may not go at all. No use to talk to them of the truth, if you are not the truth, there may be none they will care to learn, and scant use to speak in those sacred moments of the true and good life, if you are not one with the life you would impart and inspire. No use trying to instil the love of God into their budding hearts, if you do not hold it in your own; for then, mothers might as well tell a garden plot of the sweetness of moss-roses and clove-pinks, and never put in a slip or a seed. The being is the doing, and there is no other way that I know of open to any mother God has blessed with little children.

—Robert Collyer in "Where the Light Dwelleth."

Is it possible any longer to take seriously anything that is said by Mr. Wilson? Can the growing discrepancy between words and deeds leave us any confidence in a man whose utterances were once the inspiration of a distracted world? As an instance of what we mean, take a statement from the speech delivered by the President before the Chamber of Commerce in St. Louis, on September 5. Speaking of the much disputed Article X of the League Covenant, he said: "Let me stop a moment on the words 'external aggression.' Why were they put in? Because every man who sat at that board held that the right of revolution was sacred and must not be interfered with. Any kind of a row can happen inside, and it is nobody's right to interfere. The only thing that there's any right to object to or interfere with is external aggression. . . ." Now let us apply this dictum to the Russian situation. Is there a revolution in Russia? There is! Has "any kind of a row" happened "inside" Russia? There has—every kind of a row! Has anybody "interfered with" this revolution and its resulting rows? Indeed, yes! Who are they who have thus interfered? Why, the men "who sat at that board (in Paris) holding that the right of revolution was sacred and must not be interfered with." This is what Woodrow Wilson's words really mean when we insist upon going behind them and finding out what has actually been *done*. And this is only one of almost innumerable illustrations of this type of discrepancy, which might be offered. For years now he has talked with an eloquence and power almost unexampled in history, laying down principles and setting forth ideals which have thrilled mankind. But when these principles have been tested by achievement, and these ideals by endeavor, we have found with a regularity which has broken the heart of the world, that they mean absolutely nothing. What are we to think of a man who acts like this? "If it were not bad form to question the truthfulness of the President," to quote a cogitation of *The New Republic* on another instance of this same fact, it might be necessary to pass moral judgments of harsh severity. As it is, we content ourselves with stating this situation as one of the amazing psychological phenomena of history, and asking once again as to whether we can any longer take with seriousness the words of the chief magistrate of this Republic.

UNITY makes no apology for stating once again its doctrine in regard to the use of violence for political or social ends. Times are too serious, to allow this topic to rest a single instant! At the bottom of our thought is the conviction, sanctified by our American Revolution, of the inherent right of a people to change, or even overthrow altogether, a government which does not serve their interests or represent their ideals. President Wilson gave expression to this conviction in a speech made in Detroit in July, 1916, when he said: "I am one of those—I have sometimes suspected that there were not many of them—who believe absolutely in the Virginia Bill of Rights, which says that a people has the right to do anything they please with their own country and their own government." The New York *Sun,* hardly to be described as a radical sheet, restates this principle of a revolution in a recent editorial, when it refers to "right of revolution or reform or change . . . abiding indubitably, inalienably and indefeasibly in a majority of the community, and extending . . . even to the submerging of the nation's sovereignty or the abolishment of individual rights in property, if the majority so decree." As a second step in our thought upon this question of violence, is the conviction that this change of government, this process of revolution, must be accomplished by methods of education, persuasion, and orderly procedure, and not by weapons of force. The third and last step in our argument is emphasis upon the fact that here in America ways and means are specifically provided in our Constitution for bringing about the most radical and sweeping governmental changes by due process of law. In a land where no such constitutional provision is made, there may be something to be said for resort to violence, on expediential if not ethical grounds, although even this we would ourselves deny. But in a country such as ours.

there is nothing to be said for the weapon of force on any score. Anything can be done in America, without any violence of any kind, which a majority of the people want to do. If a majority does not, for any reason of ignorance, stupidity or sheer perversity, want a thing done, it should not be done. Violence is always the attempt of a minority to enforce its will, which may be either good or bad, upon an unwilling majority—and this is tyranny.

In his letter to the Viceroy of India, resigning his knighthood, Rabindranath Tagore speaks of "the enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances." . . . "The disporportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people," says this noble Hindu, "and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced are without parallel in the history of civilized governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions recent and remote." Information now coming to hand reveals the facts upon which this terrific indictment of English rule was founded. Fresh coercion laws added to the oppressive acts which have burdened and tortured the country since the early nineteenth century, machine guns and aeroplane bombs used against unarmed crowds of men, women and children, imprisonments and transportations and death sentences galore—all these are a part of the dreadful story. In the Punjab, to which Tagore particularly refers, the tyranny has been almost indescribable. Up to June 20th, 596 persons were tried by court martial, among whom were lawyers, editors and other prominent men. Seventy-three were sentenced to death, 147 were transported for life, and 204 were sentenced to various degrees of rigorous punishment. A number of citizens were flogged in the streets. Many papers have been suppressed, and the security deposits of others have been forfeited. "Public life in the Punjab has been killed. The country is virtually dead." And this, be it recalled, on behalf of a war fought to make the world safe for democracy and establish self-dependence for subject nationalities, and among a people which gave a million and a quarter men to the struggle in Europe, one billion dollars plus all expenses of Indian contingents, and millions of tons of food, fodder and military equipment! To call attention to these things, even now, is to lay ourselves open to the malevolent charge of pro-Germanism; it is also to satisfy, without prejudice, the elementary dictates of humanitarianism. It is high time for us to get away from the ridiculous partisanship of war, and recognize and denounce cruelty wherever it appears, whether in Belgium at the hands of Germans, in Korea at the hands of Japanese, in India at the hands of Englishmen, or in Georgia at the hands of white Americans.

The death of Prof. Gaston Bonet-Maury of France brings to mind the tragic fate which befell the great International Council of Religious Liberals as a consequence of the War. Prof. Bonet-Maury's life, as is beautifully recorded in a recent issue of *The Christian Register* by Charles W. Wendte, was devoted to the cause of religious liberty at home and abroad. "For this cause his scientific studies were made, his numerous books written, his arduous journeys in Europe and America undertaken. . . . He took a prominent part in the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and was a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the International Council in Boston in 1907. Everywhere he strove for religious unity and progress. At the time of the outbreak of the Great War he was in Germany, seeking to assure peace between the nations." Among the innumerable tragedies precipitated by this conflict, none was greater than the disruption of that vast work of religious comity so laboriously furthered through so many years by men of the Bonet-Maury type in every land. The International Council of Religious Liberals disappeared in a night, save as it lived on in the hearts of those who had toiled for it, and were determined to toil for it again when peace should come. It is cause for infinite satisfaction that the man central in the life of the Council from the beginning—Charles W. Wendte—still lives. May many years of health and strength be his, that he may rebuild in permanency this proud structure of international spiritual fellowship, which is the crown of his distinguished and devoted career.

UNITY was one of the first journals in this country to call attention to W. L. George's remarkable novel, "Blind Alley." It is to be hoped that Miss Zona Gale's searching and sympathetic review of this book in our columns brought many readers to its pages. It is undoubtedly the most important war novel published in the English language since "Mr. Britling Sees It Through"; it does for the later phases of the struggle what Mr. Wells's volume did for the earlier phases. For this reason, among other contrasting elements, is it a very different book. Whereas "Mr. Britling" is warm, sympathetic, human, filled with the initial beauty as well as horror of war, "Blind Alley" is cold, hard, inclined to cynicism, suffused with revolt against this War, and all war, as a thing of futility and madness. Mr. George undoubtedly wrote this book in order to tell what he thought about the vast struggle of the last four years, the English side as well as the German side; and he gives his opinion with meciless candor. Every last vestige of the sham and hypocrisy, the vulgar patriotism and indecent sentimentality, in which the fighting of the war was shrouded, is here stripped away, and the conflict left

to stand in utter nakedness for what in reality it was. It is probable that this is the kind of book which is to appear in ever greater numbers from now on. The day of the Ian Hays, the Coningsby Dawsons, even the Donald Hankeys, is gone. The day of sober, rigorous, pitiless truth-telling is come. Another ten years and there will be no man so mean as to say anything good of the Great War.

Alfred Russell Wallace, in his autobiography ("My Life") confesses to an especial fondness for the poetry of Thomas Hood. The distinguished scientist gives few indications in his book of being either a great lover or competent student of literature; but this comment stirs speculation as to whether Hood has ever been given his due as a poet. In his case as in many others, reputation as a wit has undoubtedly diverted attention from his more serious work. Furthermore, his life-long and heroic struggle with poverty—resulting in a great mass of "pot-boiling" writing, lowered the general level of his literary achievement beyond that of most other authors. Nevertheless, he produced a few pieces of almost flawless art, touched with true feeling and profound compassion for humanity, which show him to have had poetic faculties of the first order. It is pathetic to think of what he might have written had he lived under circumstances favorable to his art, and especially had he been free from the economic struggle. Even as it is, when the supreme names—Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Wordsworth, Tennyson—have been passed, Thomas Hood must be given rank among the leading English poets. His was a nobly beautiful life, and a true genius. It might be well for more of us to be able to make confession to the kind of fondness of which Wallace speaks.

"The Level of the Brute"

I remember with what horror Anatole France regarded the devastation of his native land, when, in the early days of the war, the sublime monuments of ecclesiastical architecture of northern France were struck by shells and parts of them destroyed. To him the old cathedrals were more than places of church-worship; indeed, the sect, the priest and the ritual were of less importance to him than the symbol of democratic aspiration which, he believed, the great cathedrals expressed in their design and workmanship. He was a sad figure, cruelly out of place, in the autumn of 1914; his sweet soul seemed to be filled with loathing, and his friends feared he might pass away in the midst of the turmoil and horror of war. Had he been killed by the sorrow and pain of the strife the loss to France would have been well-nigh irreparable. But he has endured the woe; he has survived the bitterness. Now he speaks to us again. His first message is an inspiration. At the age of seventy-six he speaks with the ardor and optimism of a fine-minded youth. It is extraordinary, that through all the terrible physical and mental, material and spiritual havoc of five long years of war, and its consequences, he appears, once more, in all his old glory: a lover of peace, a believer in man. It means much for the future of his country that he has been spared, that he remains unchanged, that his voice will be raised in the service of essential reconstruction.

At the Congress of Teachers' Institute, held at Tours, August 7, just after the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of hostilities, he delivered an address of universal significance. He spoke to the teachers of French children, and in speaking to them he sent a message of good counsel to the teachers of children of every nation under the sun.

From the report of his speech given in *l'Humanite* I take the following excerpt:

> Teachers, dear friends, it is with ardent emotion that I address you; deeply stirred with anxiety and hope that I speak to you. And how could I fail to be deeply moved when I consider that the future is in your hands, and that it will be for the most part what your spirit and what your care shall make it?
>
> In developing the child, you will determine the future. What a task at this hour, when the world is crumbling, when the old order of society sinks under the weight of its sins; and when conquerors and conquered are alike plunged in a common misery, in which they bandy expressions of hatred.
>
> In the social and moral disorder created by the war and perpetuated by the peace which has followed it, you have everything to do, everything to rebuild. Have courage! Be of good cheer! It is for you to create a new humanity, it is for you to awake a new intelligence, if you do not wish Europe to fall into madness and barbarism. People will say to you, "To what purpose so much exertion? Man does not change." So! He has changed since the age of the cave-dweller, now for the worse, now for the better. He changes with environment, and it is education which transforms him, even more perhaps, than air and food. Certainly the education which has rendered possible, which has favored (being practically uniform among the peoples whom we call civilized) the frightful catastrophe under which we are now half-buried, should not be allowed to endure for a moment. And above all,

it is necessary to banish from the schools everything which makes children love war and its crimes; and this alone will require long and constant efforts, unless all of its panoplies should be swept away at an early day by the breath of world revolution.

In our bourgeoisie, great and small, and even in our proletariat, the destructive instincts for which we justly reproached the Germans are carefully cultivated. Some days ago the amiable La Fouchardière asked a bookseller for books for little girls. They gave him only stories and pictures of murders, butcheries, massacres, and exterminations. Next Mi-Carême we shall see at Paris, in the Champs Elysées and on the boulevards, thousands and thousands of little boys dressed by the inept care of their mothers as generals and marshals. The cinema will show them the beauties of war: thus they will be prepared for the military career; and while there are soldiers there will be wars. Our diplomats have left armies to the Germans in order to be able to keep them themselves. In their swaddling clothes men are prepared to be soldiers.

My friends, we must break with these dangerous practices. The teacher must make the child love peace and its works; he must teach him to detest war; he will banish from education all that which excites hate for the stranger, even hatred of the enemy of yesterday; not that it is necessary to be indulgent to crime and to absolve all the guilty, but because a people, whatever it may be, at whatever hour, is composed of more victims than criminals, because the punishment of the guilty should not be visited upon the innocent generations, and because, finally, all peoples have much to pardon each other.

In a beautiful book which has just appeared, and which I counsel you to read, "Les Mains Propres," an essay of education without dogma, Michel Corday has written these fine words, which I use to reinforce my own. He said: "I hate that which reduces man to the level of the beast, forcing him to attack whatever does not resemble him."

Oh, that idea! I pray with all my heart for its disappearance from the surface of the earth. I have hate only for hatred.

The eyes of Anatole France may be dimmed by age and work, but this speech indicates how clear is the vision of his mind. He sees where the radical defect lies: in the system of education. So long as "in their swaddling clothes men are prepared to be soldiers," and our teachers are forced to tolerate military training in any shape or form in the schools, man will, when the occasion is made by quarreling governments, be reduced "to the level of the beast."

How absurd it is to spend the best years of the child and youth in acquiring knowledge which is to raise him above the level of the brute, and at the same time teach him the manual of war, the bigotry of nationalism, the arrogance of imperialism, all of which are inimical to the highest aspirations of an educated society! "While there are soldiers there will be wars." Twenty-five hundred years of government have taught us the truth of that statement.

France is right and his noble appeal to the teachers of his country should be carried to the instructors in every school in the world. He says to them:

> My friends, make hatred hated! It is the most necessary and simple part of your task; the state to which a devastating war has reduced France and the whole world imposes upon you duties extremely complex and consequently extremely difficult to fulfill. Pardon me for returning to this; it is the great point upon which everything depends. It is for you, without hope of aid or support, or even of consent, to change primary education from the ground up, in order to make workers. There is place today in our society only for workers; the rest will be swept away in the storm. Make intelligent workers, instructed in the arts they practice, knowing what they owe to the national and to the human community.
>
> Burn all the books which teach hatred. Exalt work and love. Let us develop reasonable men, capable of trampling under foot the vain splendor of barbaric glories, and of resisting the sanguinary ambitions of nationalisms and imperialisms which have crushed their fathers.
>
> No more industrial rivalries, no more wars: work and peace. Whether we wish it or no, the hour is come when we must be citizens of the world or see all civilization perish.

It is for the teachers of the world to set their hands immediately to the task of raising our children above the level of the brute. It is for them to teach the rising generation the utter iniquity of this catastrophe which has fallen upon their misguided parents. If our teachers will not hesitate to learn the truth of the whole matter, and instruct their pupils fearlessly from the facts, they will find the task of exalting work and love not nearly so difficult as it has been in the miserable past.

When I think of man's labors in which he has risen above the level of the brute, and compare the histories written about them with those written on militarism, imperialism and war, a sadness fills me, and I feel at a loss to understand how we have missed in our literature the God-like qualities of our con-

structive imagination. All war now denotes the degradation of the inventor's genius. War turns that which might bless mankind into an engine for his destruction. Well might we ask, are our schools of science and technology to become the forcing-houses of ideas which are to be used principally for destruction? It is indeed time a radical change took place in our whole system of education, time our teachers arrived at a true notion of their high calling, time all parents understood their real responsibilities. Must we learn from Bela Kun that the highest paid servant of the state should be the teacher? Surely those who have the place and power to teach children to love peace and believe in man, should receive the highest remuneration, for they will be savers of billions of wealth and millions of men.

It lies with the teacher to raise us above the level of the brute. Will he say to his pupils, "in the social and moral disorder created by the war and perpetuated by the peace," there is not one single beneficent original notion produced with which man might bless himself? Or will he say, "we must maintain the level of the brute, and prepare for the next war?" Which will be the message he will give to our children? Will he teach them how to save life, or how to destroy it? Will he tell them that it is better to work in a trench that is dug for sanitary purposes, than to exist, for a time, in one that is dug for destructive purposes? Which? The teacher might compare the work of war with the work of peace. He might show, with almost unlimited material and spiritual profit to the child, that the work of peace is that of abundance and leisure, the work of war that of starvation and revolution. Peace tends to unity and understanding, war disunites peoples and fosters hatred. Even allies in war fear one another; they suspect and distrust one another's motives; it has always been so, always will be so; such a condition is in the nature of the business. The teacher could prove to the child that peace encourages one "to reason why" and war restricts those who would reason why. Peace fosters initiative and liberty, war brings subordination and curtails freedom.

There is more the teacher can do to make the child love peace and "hate that which reduces man to the level of the beast." He ought to explain at the earliest the pathological and spiritual dangers which beset young soldiers. And in connection with this the name of Anatole France reminds one of a school of Frenchmen which flourished at the beginning of this century, an association of men of great repute who were strenuously opposed to French militarism. In the group there were François Coppée, the poet and novelist; Edouard Drumont, the editor of the Paris newspaper, *Libre Parole;* Père Forbes, the great social worker; and many others. These men and their associates, most of them having been through the experiences of the conscript, stated frankly their reasons for opposing militarism and conscription. François Coppée said: "We must admit that the passage of every young Frenchmen through the regiment is attended with very grave perils. It is hardly, to begin with, a school of hygiene and morality; and then the soldier loses the habit of regular work and acquires a taste for the dissipations of the towns." Père Forbes said: "The family in France gives to the army a young man clean in body and mind; the army gives back that same young man steeped to the very lips in debauchery, suffering from disease and degrading vices." In the Chamber of Deputies, when he was one of the leaders of the Nationalist party, and in many articles which appeared in *Libre Parole,* Edouard Drumont denounced conscription and barrack life. In a speech he told the Chamber that some of the worst social and industrial evils of his day were "directly traceable to the barracks." He said: "Compulsory military service, far from being a school of morals, is a school of drunkenness, of idleness, and debauchery. . . . I deem the universal military service one of the greatest, and it is sometimes one of the saddest, sacrifices that our country calls upon us to bear."

The same reproach has been leveled over and over again against the German system. We were familiar only a few years ago with the books of such German writers as Lieutenant Bilse and Herr Bayerlein. "Jena or Sedan" is a book every American parent should read.

There is much for our teachers to do in work of instructing our children in the arts of peace and the blessings of love. They should stir themselves and harken to the voice of Anatole France calling them to a fuller realization of their vast responsibilities. The height we reach depends upon their work. It is for them to raise us all permanently above the level of the brute.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

LIBERTY.

So all in vain will timorous ones essay
To set the metes and bounds of Liberty.
For Freedom is its own eternal law;
It makes its own conditions, and in storm
Or calm alike fulfills the unerring Will.
Let us not then despise it when it lies
Still, as a sleeping lion, while a swarm
Of gnat-like evils hover round its head;
Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times
It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry
Shrills o'er the quaking earth, and in the flame
Of riot and war we see its awful form
Rise by the scaffold, where the crimson axe
Rings down its grooves the knell of shuddering kings.
Forever in thine eyes, O Liberty,
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved,
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee!

American Freedom Convention. —*John Hay.*
Chicago, September 25, 1919.

CONTRIBUTED

Common Sense Methods in Diplomacy

Doing Business with Spanish Ministers.

It may or it may not be true that the days of secret diplomacy have passed. Certainly with what has been going in the near East, and in the far East in Shantung, there is still good ground for doubt. But however that may be, the days of old-fashioned diplomacy are passing and in many respects have passed.

Of course there are numerous surviving customs of reception and the like even in those "courts" which have become republics, all of which are scrupulously observed. There are magnificent, high, uncomfortable old coaches that are kept burnished and oiled to carry diplomats of the first class when they go to present their credentials, and apparently to furnish a supplementary income to the servants who show the curious foreigner through the state stables on days of less flutter in the diplomatic world. Some of the furbelows of the past are hard to get rid of. But diplomatic processions and their trappings have become much like our Fourth of July celebrations and the speeches and fireworks accompany them. They constitute a spectacle often overdone and not infrequently tawdry, they are things which we do because we have always done them, but things which no longer deeply stir the life of the people—if they ever did.

Oh yes, there are still some who take such things seriously, who observe rigorously the prescribed seasons of court mourning and make themselves believe that they would be seriously criticized, and subject the representation of their country to sidelong glances if not to reprimand if they appeared in public in such a period not garbed in black. But those who thus deceive themselves are usually the young wives of newly appointed secretaries and attaches and they too will learn that whatever effort is still kept up to make the major ceremonies keep their former dignity, the minor ones are already so frayed around the edges that only those whose future will be spent in looking at the past think seriously about them.

If one seeks the *rule* for doing things he will find it unchanged. Hunt in the Formularies of Diplomatic Correspondence and Communications, and there of course the three styles in which communications may be written are still set out, and all the rules for the dispatch, memorandum, aide de memoire, note and note verbal—which by the way is not verbal at all. But when rules relate merely to form and not to substance they seldom have any excuse for being and most of these have none. In much of the actual dealings of one government with another—well, they don't exist.

One of the courts of the world having the reputation of observing the most punctilious etiquette, and one in fact in which the observance of the finest courtesy is still characteristic, is that of Spain. There as elsewhere the old routine formalism is a part of history and not of life. The rule is here as in all courts that all communications from one government to another go through the head of the diplomatic mission and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The practice is nothing of the sort. When a new ministry comes in the representative of country A asks the Secretary of Foreign Affairs informally whether he wishes all communications to pass through his office, or to have the subjects of discussion informally taken up with the various departments by the Ambassador directly or through the secretary and attaches of the embassy in whose field the matters for settlement fall. The *informally* is the important word—it saves the old rule and admits the new practice. The minister replies that he will be glad to have the second of the alternatives adopted, and that he will arrange to have the various secretaries presented to the ministries with which they will have dealings forthwith.

Thereafter in general anything further than the rules that are the common heritage of good breeding the world around, can be forgotten in dealing with the various governmental departments. There are methods of doing business of course which may differ from our own, methods adopted to give order to what is done and aid in expedition of work, and these rules must be observed if what one wishes is to be accomplished with the greatest dispatch—just as in up-to-date business communities one must cite the reference number in replying to business letters if one wishes to save work to the one to whom it is sent and obtain the advantage of a quick reply. But the silk stockings and silver buckle accoutrements of the diplomacy of a century ago—at least of the diplomacy of the fashionable novel—that one can forget about, it is out of style, it is not done, to observe it would be evidence that you had not enough work to do.

The minister has more to do than you, though you may be convinced that you yourself are overworked. He has no time to waste. He meets you as a twentieth century business man, he assumes that you have something on your mind and want to get it off. The formal salutation takes no longer than in the usual meetings in the United States between one who makes a request and one in a position to grant it. After a few meetings, especially if you put your business through with dispatch, and he has come to know that you will not waste his time, the minister probably assures you that you need not go to the formality of making an appointment by telephone, and he instructs the man at the door to admit you whenever you present your card—though of course there are cases tacitly understood where such an undertaking must be modified.

With the passing of the old diplomacy passed to a great extent the delays with which it was so closely associated. Business unfortunately cannot be done with governments even now with the dispatch which obtains in dealing with individuals—who does not know it who has had relations with our governments, national, state and municipal! But the difficulties in securing decisions from the authorities of one's own government obtained formerly, happily, to a greater degree than now. In affairs involving the relations of different governments such handicaps were greatly increased by the formality which always surrounded them.

A state document with its pompous phraseology was addressed to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs by the Ambassador, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs wrote to the department of his own government which investigated through the branch which had the matter in charge. After the correspondence had passed down the ladder to the last rung it started back again, and after a delay, usually a long one, the Ambassador received a reply—unless the government had meanwhile changed, in which case the process frequently had to

be begun all over again. It was no wonder that under such a system grandchildren settled the claims that their grandfathers placed before their government for settlement.

The advantages of the new way need no demonstration. In a conversation face to face misunderstandings can be removed and explanations given in a few moments, which it would take months and good luck to remove by the formal correspondence the rules of which formed a code as difficult of mastery as the verbiage which used to surround legal transactions.

Praise be to the old days that are gone! There is no good reason why dealings between states should not at least approach in directness those between individuals. It is still true that common sense is the most uncommon sense of all, but we may be thankful that in carrying on the every day relations between nations there is more of it displayed than in the days of dignified grandfathers. C. LL. J.

Were Turkey Disarmed

There lies before me a group of grisly photographs. They are copies of "trophies of triumph" found in the pocket of a Turkish prisoner by an American-Armenian volunteer. The public will probably never see these. "We never publish painful pictures of that kind," said the last daily editor to whom I showed them. It is not business policy to show a table full of severed Armenian heads, guarded by armed men wearing the fez, and ghastly photographs of living skeletons which show Turkey's beastly ferocity in Armenia. The public must have what it wants, and it wants ball games and fall fashions and reports of actors' strikes. Armenia is very far away. Why should we be called to do more for her than for suffering Belgium? Aren't we all sending our doles to the relief agencies, and doesn't Armenia have its share? We know we cannot cope with the world's awful woe. If we give all we can, why torture us with tales of horror all the time?

Listen, my friends. There is something to do now besides giving alms. Belgium is free. Its people, wretched indeed, are not in daily terror of life and limb, unorganized and uncertain of their fate. Not so Armenia. Since time began, among all the suffering people on the planet in any clime or nation, never has there been such prolonged agony as Armenia has endured. Unlike Belgium, the armistice has not brought her peace. Just now, while the League of Nations is menaced by twenty senators ready to knife it, and more who would emasculate it, while the question of all mandatories is still an open one, Turkish forces, all uncowed, are still daring to wreak their vengeance on helpless Armenia. The British troops, war-weary, are being withdrawn after having prolonged their stay at the earnest request of the Peace Conference.

Great Britain has done all she can. With a daily national expenditure of about $11,000,000 above her daily income, retrenchment or national bankruptcy are her alternatives. Admiral Fisher has just startled England with the demand that the British navy shall be scrapped, part of it being out of date, and most of it unnecessary now that Germany's fleet is ruined. Nothing so refreshing as this demand has been heard since the armistice, as it presages that genuine universal disarmament, planned for in the Covenant, but of which mankind has been exceedingly skeptical. Now, in the interim of British withdrawal from Armenia and the consummation of general disarmament, what can America do? We are the sole nation which has the men, the money and the influence to deal with the tragic situation in which the tigerish proclivities of Turk and Kurd are still uncurbed.

It is stated that "Washington has examined the situation and decided that it would take 150,000 men to re-establish order in Armenia, and to protect the inhabitants from Turkish persecution." Presumably this is an estimate made some time ago, and in view of Turkey's present armament. Certain it is that we shall send no conscripts, and most probable that not one-twentieth of 150,000 American volunteers would go to guard Armenian mountain passes and peasant villages this winter. Help, if it is to come, must be through public sentiment, diplomacy and immediate action by our government through the Peace Conference. While we are working to prevent the destruction of the Covenant—the world's greatest hope today—there are other matters on which all lovers of humanity should also concentrate attention. Turkey's arrogance and cruelty will abate markedly if she knows that an impartial international commission under the League is to administer the affairs of Constantinople and the immediate hinterland, raze all forts and guarantee free passage at all times to all sea craft through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Constantinople under a Greek mandatory, which Greece desires, would be in danger of being a hotbed of strife as the population is mixed Greek and Moslem. This key city, magnificently placed between the lines of traffic that connect three continents, should now be the sacred charge of the League of Nations alone and never again be permitted to be the goal of any national ambition. It is for America at this juncture to bring such public pressure to bear as shall ensure it.

Next, America must insist that the treaty with Turkey, still unfinished, shall be at least as drastic as regards armaments as was that with Germany. The best part of the very faulty requirements made of Germany was that section 5 of the treaty, which will reduce her army to 100,000, curtail extremely her manufacture of armaments and require surrender of equipment. If a nation of 65,000,000 citizens is to be allowed but 100,000 soldiers, surely Turkey with less than one-third her population must be proportionately restricted. *Without an armed Turkey, Armenia will be safe.*

In the meantime a few months must elapse, and Armenia cannot wait. The Peace Conference must act. It seems presumptuous at this distance to suggest how, but certainly this powerful little body in Paris which drew a cordon around Hungary when it chose and overthrew its government, could find some pressure to coerce the Turk, and do it now. I learn from the headquarters of the Armenian National Union of America, that about 10,000 American-Armenians who participated in the war are available if needed to go again to guard their fatherland. With energetic action by Great Britain and America through the Peace Conference, not even this force should be needed. The newspaper report that England calls for us to send 200,000 troops to Armenia comes opportunely for those who are trying to alarm our people as to the fearful military burdens we shall incur if we enter the League and accept a mandatory. No

such burdens are necessary if the Peace Conference compels not only the Turkish army but the Turkish people to surrender arms. Those monsters of cruelty —Enver and Talaat—must be surrendered and Turkey must be made to know that she will suffer heavy penalties for years to come if she permits her brigands to attack Armenians now or hereafter.

Finally, public sentiment must prepare even before the ratification of the League makes our mandatory over Armenia possible, for America to stand ready to take charge of this downtrodden little people. Armenia asks this great republic which has planted so many schools and colleges in the East where the American missionary is so loved and revered, to be her friend and helper.

Let no one, I reiterate, be alarmed lest it mean sending a host of boys in khaki to fight the Moslem. The Turks will have no guns to fight with if we do our duty now. Their cowarly policy of the past, which meant every Turk armed and every Armenian unarmed, nears its end. Our task will be to carry seed and tractors, school books and hammers; to help create products, open roads, cure tuberculosis and help an ambitious and sublimely courageous people to rehabilitate itself. The Borah-Brandegee type of patriot would have us look after our own interests and shirk responsibility for others. That type does not, thank God, represent the majority in the land of Jefferson, of Lincoln, of Wilson, Hoover and the men who have made America honored and beloved. "What do you think of our country accepting a mandatory?" I inquired of that valiant son of America, Dr. Bliss, president of Beirut College on the Mediterranean, who under storm and stress kept his college a beacon light of help amid the blackness of persecution and danger that threatened all people under the Turk's thraldom.

His reply was: "Let America take all the mandatories offered her." There spoke the true American.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

WHAT LOVE HAS.

Love has infinite patience,
And the courage to be wise;
The faith that is strong to venture,
The vision of seeing eyes;
The heart that is close to Nature,
The spirit divine of man,
The life of the Christ who conquered—
For Love is the Maker's plan.

VLYN JOHNSON.

God of the Granite and the Rose!
Soul of the Sparrow and the Bee!
The mighty tide of Being flows
Through countless channels, Lord, from Thee.
It leaps to life in grass and flower,
Through every grade of being runs,
Till from Creation's radiant tower
Thy glory flames in stars and suns.

God of the Granite and the Rose!
Soul of the Sparrow and the Bee!
The mighty tide of Being flows
Through all Thy creatures back to Thee.
Thus round and round the circle runs,
A mighty sea without a shore,
While men and women, stars and suns,
Unite to praise Thee evermore.

—Lizzie Doten.

SELECTED

America's Difficulties

"We in Great Britain have very little to fear from American competition. I have known the United States intimately for twenty-five years and more, and I have just come back from a visit to New York, where I met many of the most prominent men in industry and finance. That is my considered opinion. Whoever we may be—bankers, financiers, manufacturers, merchants, shipowners, or shipbuilders—we can more than hold our own. The winning cards are in our hands, and it is simply a question of playing them rightly. I was always an optimist on Britain's position during the war and after it. I am more so now than ever after seeing what I have seen in America."

This was the view expressed yesterday to a representative of the Press Association by Mr. E. Mackay Edgar, the head of the London firm of Sperling & Co., which has large financial interests in America, Canada, Mexico, Russia and elsewhere.

"Don't think," Mr. Edgar went on, "that I am crabbing America. That would be absurd in view of her size, wealth, resources, and the industrial character and aptitudes of her people. Her position is a very strong one. But so also is ours. The point is that we see and know our own weaknesses and difficulties, and we do not see hers. But America has some pretty considerable troubles ahead of her and some very heavy handicaps to overcome. In my opinion we stand a better chance of getting through the rough waters than she does.

"Take, for instance, this question of the American exchange. It looks a very bad thing for us when the pound is only worth about 17s. in New York, and so in a way it is. But it is very much worse for the Americans. It means that we cannot afford to purchase in the United States, that we will buy anywhere except there, and that we will only take such American goods and products as we are physically unable to get from some other country where the exchange is less adverse. The fall in the value of the pound as measured in dollars is the biggest obstacle to America's exports that anyone could desire.

"And America just now wants to export all she can. She is loaded up with goods and products, the output of which has been enormously stimulated by the war. She has paid extravagant and utterly uneconomic wages to produce them, and she has done so on the expectation that Europe would have to purchase them at any figure. But the European demand is falling off, largely because of the chaotic state of the exchanges. America, therefore, finds herself congested with merchandise that she cannot market. What is she to do? She must either sell at a loss or cut down production. In either case there is bound to be a drop in wages, and when wages begin to drop, then look out for squalls.

"We talk a lot over here about the demands of labor. We grumble at the high cost of living. Undoubtedly we have our troubles, and we shall continue to have them until it is recognized everywhere that labor must have an equal and effective voice in setling working conditions in the mine, the factory, and the workshop, and that the highest possible wages in return for the greatest possible output is the only sane foundation for British industry. But our difficulties

so far as labor and the cost of living are concerned are nothing to America's. Everything there—production, prices and wages—has reached such a sky-high level that the drop when it comes—and it will come—will be nothing less than a crash.

"We need not, therefore, worry overmuch about the American exchange or the debt that our Government owes to the American Government. When trade is set free over here, when all these hampering restrictions are withdrawn, and when British capital is allowed to resume its conquering march throughout the world and to smooth the path for the export of British goods, I have no doubt that the position will automatically correct itself. Meanwhile, remember this, first, that the fall in sterling hurts America in some ways more than it hurts us; secondly, that while it is not pleasant to be a debtor; it at least forces your creditor to take as keen an interest as yourself in your solvency and prosperity; and, thirdly, that these debts between governments have nothing to do with commercial and international finance.

"I am not greatly disturbed by America's burst into international commerce. It has been the product of the war, and it may not long outlive it. In South America and in Far Eastern markets I dare say Americans will prove effective competitors. But I doubt whether they will ever build up a foreign trade at all comparable with ours, as ours was before the war and will be again if we seriously buckle to the task of recapturing it. Here once more the element of compulsion is almost lacking. Our foreign trade is absolutely vital to us. To America it is merely a convenient way of disposing of their surplus. Before the war seven-tenths of America's exports consisted of the products of the farm and the mine and the oilfield, and less than a third took the form of manufactured goods. In a few years matters again may not be so very different. America's domestic market of 110,000,000 people is so secure and so ample, and the demands that her natural growth must make on her bankers and manufacturers are going to be on so prodigious a scale that a decade hence you may easily find that the smaller profits and longer credits of international trade will have little attraction for her people."

The Cost of British Intervention in Russia

A White Paper issued by the British Government gives details of the cost of the naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the armistice to July 31, including the assistance to the anti-Bolshevik Russian forces, showing that the total expenditure during that period was nearly seventy millions.

BRITISH OPERATIONS.

The cost of the naval and military operations connected with the occupation of and withdrawal from North Russia (Murmansk and Archangel) was £17,910,000, made up of the following amounts:

Expenses of British contingents	£5,650,000
Sea trasport	1,940,000
Money to Provisional Government	750,000
Supplies for Russians	1,000,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	2,800,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	5,770,000

The maintenance of an army in the Caucasus cost £2,860,000, and the naval operations in the Baltic and Black Seas, £5,200,000, making a grand total of £25,970,000.

ASSISTANCE TO RUSSIAN ARMIES.

Our total expenditure in assisting the anti-Bolshevik Russian forces was £43,315,000. More than half of this sum, £26,050,000, was paid in supporting General Denikin's army. Admiral Koltchak's campaign has cost us £14,430,000, while the assistance to the Baltic States, including the Northwest Russian Corps, which has met with such ill-success in its operations against Petrograd, cost £2,835,000. These sums are made up of the following items:

KOLTCHAK.

Expenses of British contingent	£1,250,000
Sea transport	590,000
Supplies for Russians	30,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	6,410,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	6,150,000

DENIKIN.

Expenses of British contingent	£ 150,000
Sea transport	310,000
Supplies for Russians	550,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	5,840,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	19,200,000

BALTIC STATES.

Expenses of British contingent	£ 10,000
Sea transport	100,000
Supplies for Russians	125,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	350,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	2,250,000

Famous Advocates of Free Speech

James Bryce: "Where a majority has erred, the only remedy is in the protests of the minority, which ought to be peaceably conducted, but which must be vehement enough to rouse the people and deliver them from the consequences of their blunders."

Socrates: "The sun might as easily be spared from the universe as free speech from the liberal institutions of society."

Machiavelli: "Man has a right to think all things, speak all things, write all things, but not to improve his opinions."

William Lloyd Garrison: "He who is for forcibly stopping the mouth of his opponent is under the dominion of a spirit of cowardice, or animated by that fierce intolerance which characterized Paul or Tarsus in his zeal to exterminate the heresy of Christianity."

Wendell Phillips: "The community which dares not protect its humblest member in the free utterance of his opinions, is only a gang of slaves."

Henry Ward Beecher: "There is tonic in the things that men do not love to hear. Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease, and bring new elements of health; where free speech is stopped, miasma is bred, and death comes fast."

James Russell Lowell:

"They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

J. H. H.

News from Europe

Armenian Independence.

Reuter's Agency is informed that the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople has received a telegram from Mr. Gerard, the former United States Ambassador in Berlin, stating that 20,000 eminent representatives of the American clergy, including 85 bishops, 40 state governors, and 250 principals of colleges and universities, have appealed collectively to President Wilson advocating the desirability of a "united independent Armenia."

Expensive Prisoners.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council it was pointed out that the British Government was being put to great expense in maintaining large numbers of German prisoners in France and Belgium, and it was therefore suggested that the French Government should take over the care of these prisoners and make use of their labor.

Russian Royalty and Counter Revolution.

The Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter,* apparently in touch with the Swedish Government, reports on the activity of the Russian counter-revolutionaries. The Grand Duke Nicholas is said to have arrived in Stockholm from London, and to be in touch with the Russian counter-revolutionaries.

Finland and Mannerheim.

According to a telegram from Stockholm to the *Temps,* the Finnish Government appears to be hesitating between two fears. On the one hand, it is afraid of internal disorder if it should attempt to mobilize reservists and undertake an expedition into Russia; on the other, it is afraid that Finland may receive nothing in the final settlement if she does not co-operate in the military operations that are now being prepared against Petrograd. It is thought that M. Holste, the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs, will leave next week for Reval to confer with M. Poska, the Esthonian foreign minister.

General Mannerheim, who had announced his intention of quitting Finland after his defeat at the presidential election, seems to have completely changed his plans. Following a long tour which he has made into the interior of the country, he has come to the conclusion that his personal prestige still stands high enough to enable him to organize an expedition against Petrograd, in spite of the opposition of the Socialists. The Finnish Government, probably, would consent to allow the organization of an expedition of "volunteers," so as not to accept responsibility too openly.

Germanism Versus Bolshevism.

The *Echo de Paris* of Saturday contained an interesting article by "Pertinax" on the Hungarian situation. After regretting that Italy should have supported the protests of the Jugo-Slavs and the Czecho-Slovaks against the *coup d'état* at Budapest, "Pertinax" goes on to attack Mr. Hoover as the principal author of the new policy of the Allies. He recalls without amenity the policy of Mr. Wilson in Mexico, and asks whether this "mischievous policy" is now going to be imported into Hungary. The first enemy to be fought, says "Pertinax," is Bolshevism, and his conclusion is as follows:

"We cannot then blindly prescribe the force of economic organization which is represented by Germanism in its essential characteristics. No doubt there is in it a peril, but a peril which will become real only in a relatively distant future. Between Germanism and Bolshevism, at this moment, it is impossible to hesitate, above all when Germanism takes the superficial form of an Archduke weakly installed in Budapest.

"Moreover, there is no real antithesis between Germanism and Bolshevism. By the reactions that it provokes, Bolshevism prepares the way for the return of Germanism. For our part, it has never been our opinion that our security should be looked for in a ruined and impotent Germany. In all countries, friendly or hostile, there is solidarity between the elements of social order and economic production."

"Pertinax" is generally regarded in France as a semi-official mouthpiece of the Quai d'Orsay. The *Temps,* on the other hand, approves of the action of the Allies in forcing the Archduke Joseph to resign. "A restoration of the Hapsburgs at Budapest would," it says, "be a menace to the security of the Allies, for it would lead to other restorations, and put the whole peace of Europe once more in danger. More than that, if it is desired that Hungary shall cease to be a danger to other countries, she must be helped to go through a complete social transformation. As long as Hungary is dominated by an aristocracy of great landowners and other privileged persons, she will be incapable of adapting herself to new conditions. The land must be divided; the peasants, who are the immense majority of the Magyar nation, must become citizens. This emancipation of the rural population, this political education of a people, are tasks which cannot be accomplished without time and trouble. But they are indispensable to the tranquility of Europe."

At the same time the *Temps* opposes action to restrain the Roumanians.

Cheering Up His Wife.

"What's wrong?" retorted the soldier as he flourished a letter he had just received. "I'm absolutely fed up; that's what's wrong. Here I've been doing my best this last six months to cheer up the wife by telling her things were all right here, so that she wouldn't worry about me not getting home. And now she writes back and says since I like Egypt so much I can stop there."

Dangerous Wagner.

Paris seems to have a Mrs. Jay of her own and she, presumably, has her musical troubles. It is a pity censors of music are appointed by tone-deaf, unmusical patriots, who are ignorant of the elements of a five-finger exercise. But war is war! The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* records the following story:

The Parisian papers were amusing reading this morning, for there is a general chorus of ridicule at the prohibition of Wagner's music by the prefect of police. The most amusing is *L'Œuvre,* which played a cruel trick on M. Pascalis, one of the leading officials at the Prefecture. It sent to him a reporter who professed to be the manager of the suppressed concert which was to have been held in the Tuileries Gardens, and who has faithfully reported everything that M. Pascalis said to him.

Some of M. Pascalis' remarks are funny. "Wagner," he said, "is very dangerous, as you well know. At any rate we made you understand it yesterday. Wagner disturbs public order. We had an anonymous letter—only one, but it was of such a threatening character—the writer of which said that he would make a scandal if Wagner were played in public."

To the objection that the concert program had previously been passed by the Prefecture—even concert programs are still censored in France—M. Pascalis replied that they had not noticed Wagner's name on it, and they had passed it by mistake. The reporter masquerading as concert director objected that there was also music by Beethoven on the program, to which M. Pascalis replied that Beethoven was not a "Boche."

The Parisian press in general resents the suggestion that Wagner's music would have caused a disturbance as a libel on the Parisian public. The public which arrived at the concert to find that it was prohibited seems to have audibly expressed its indignation.

Conclusive Evidence.

The point in dispute between the two youths was whether a certain factory was under government control during the war period. "Course it was," triumphantly exclaimed Number One. "Don't you remember how they used to be always buildin' up that wall an' then knockin' it down again?"

"Right y'are," replied Number Two, now fully convinced.

The Duty of the Allies.

The President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, M. Masaryk, who organized the Czecho-Slovak legions that formerly fought against the Red armies, has published in the United States, through the medium of the *Christian Science Monitor,* his views on the situation in Russia. In the first place he warns the Allies of the difficulties and dangers of intervention. On the strength of a very exact knowledge of the Russian character he urges that we must choose between abstaining from interference or we must organize an extremely powerful military expedition.

As the soldiers of the Entente are not disposed to undertake and to conduct a war outright, and as the volunteer army

will obtain no result, "it is the duty of the Allies," affirms M. Mazaryk, "to enter into relations with all groups that have formed governments in Russia."

Caillaux and His Constituents.

The French press reports that the Conseil Général of the department of the Sarthe, which M. Caillaux represents in the Chamber, has, in spite of the opposition of the Prefect, passed by eight votes against six the following resolution:

"The Council, faithful to its patriotic and republican traditions, demands that its former president, M. Caillaux, should be tried without further delay. Since the grave accusation against him is a weight on the conscience of the population which chose him as representative, it demands his conviction if he is guilty and his liberation if he is innocent, as the population of the Sarthe will persist in believing until the contrary be proved."

M. Caillaux has now been in prison for a year and seven months.

Cable to Berlin Open.

A London correspondent writes:

It is now possible to cable direct to Berlin, and that for 3d. a word. This reopening of telegraphic communication with our ex-enemies does not appear to be generally known, for on a cable message for the Prussian capital being handed in at a London city office yesterday it was refused—until the post office officials had made inquiry.

The Death of Jeanne Laborde.

In *L'Humanité* of August 11 the execution of a French woman revolutionary, Jeanne Laborde, by the French in South Russia is referred to by a colleague, Louise Bodin, who writes:

"Fate brought her (Jeanne Laborde) into the country at the most pathetic moment in Russian history. Being human, she was a revolutionary. . . . When the French troops landed at Odessa to fight against the Russian Bolshevik forces she, like a modern Sabine, threw herself between the French and Russian soldiers. She explained to the soldiers that they were brothers of those whom they had been sent to kill, or who might kill them. Then her arrest was ordered by the French authorities. . . . She was condemned to death because she spoke against death—that alone was her crime. As no platoons were to be found ready to carry out the sentence, officers volunteered for the task. One evening, under the pretext of transferring her to another prison, they took her to a cemetery, where they killed her as no 'apache' would kill a dog. . . . It was done with revolvers."

The British-French Quarrel Over Syria.

The *Temps* publishes a long article in answer to an article in the *Times* on Syria. Commenting on the suggestion that in the past there had been tactlessness resulting in friction on both sides, the *Temps* replies: "This is merely a symptom, and in order to heal the wound the symptoms must not be confused with the cause, which is the flagrant and obstinate repudiation of the rights accorded to France by the Franco-British treaty of 1916."

The *Temps* points out that all Moslem Asia thinks as one. Therefore it is impossible to pretend that Persia is a separate entity. Since the armistice all Moslem people of the East have been subjected to a foreign power, Persia being the last link in the chain. "We will content ourselves," says the *Temps*, "with noting that things are thus without France having wished it, without her having consented to it, without her being able to associate herself with a policy which appears to her neither in conformity with right nor with the interest of the Allies.

"The British authorities supported the Emir Feisul. They consider that Syria is ready to obey him and that he is capable of governing. They also declare that grave troubles will result if British troops are replaced by French troops. Then let the British troops evacuate Syria without French troops being sent in their places. The Emir Feisul will then have real power. If he succeed in maintaining order and security, France will find it easy work in agreement with him without in any way prejudicing the Mussulman independence which he personifies."

H. S. N.

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The Religions of the Elder World

XI.

The Hittites

"There shall be no enmity between us forever more."

—From Treaty between Ramses II of Egypt and the Hittite king, Khetasar.

This lesson will concern itself with a forgotten people who, from 1450 to perhaps 1000 B. C., occupied a region which in the distant past threatened the existence of successive civilizations and powers. In the light of a little book by Professor Morris Jastrow, on "The War and the Bagdad Railway," our lesson is a timely one. In it he speaks of "the study of the remote past so energetically pursued by European and American scholars during the last decades as illuminating the issue at stake in the recent world conflict," and the plan of the Bagdad Railway he says is "the most recent act in a drama the beginnings of which lie in antiquity." As a background to his study of the Far East of today he unfolds a swiftly moving pageant of the history of Asia Minor in which the Hittites played such an important part.

Until but a few years ago little was known of the Hittites except the references in the Bible; it was doubted whether such a people ever lived. But through the revelations of the spade and the reading of Egyptian and other tablets their supremacy in Asia Minor and northern Syria has been established. It has also been discovered that that supremacy was contemporaneous with the reign of Ramses II of Egypt, and that then they were a great power.

In the Old Testament the Hittites appear as one of the many groups with whom the Hebrews were forbidden to marry. But, notwithstanding, David married a Hittite woman, Bathsheba, who became the mother of Solomon, establishing the royal line from which, acording to tradition, Jesus came. Solomon had extensive relations with the Hittites, and Esau scandalized his family by marrying Hittites.

As Egyptian and Babylonian monuments began to be deciphered references to the Khatti (Hittites) multiplied. The first inscriptions were found in 1736 and from then on this rugged mountaineer race loomed up larger and larger. Great fortresses and palaces of elaborate construction, the sites representing some of the walled towns of the Hittites, of which there were many, rock sculptures and stone reliefs, have been discovered at widely separated points. Stones bearing inscriptions were found built into the walls of mosques and houses. These were held in veneration by the natives and were procured only with much difficulty.

In 1906-7, Hugo Winckler, at Boghaz-Keui, the capital city of the old Hittite kingdom, found lying just under the soil clay tablets which had once filled the state record chambers in the palaces of kings.

Here were letters to and from the kings of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria. Among them was a letter telling Ramses II of the coming of a shipment of iron, which the Hittites obtained from the mines of the Black Sea. From this source the Assyrian armies were equipped with weapons of iron—the Iron Age was thus begun.

In 1911 the British Museum promoted the most important expedition ever undertaken, that which excavated Carchemish on the Euphrates river. The difficulties in deciphering these inscriptions have been many, but with the finding of the letters at Tel-el-Amarna, Egypt, in 1887, the matter was somewhat simplified as they were written in the syllabic script of the Babylonians of about 1500 B. C., and it was not at all difficult for scholars to determine the structure of the language. No discovery of the past twenty-five years has fired enthusiasm in oriental research more than the bringing to light of this oldest international correspondence in the world, part of the royal records, stored in Ikhnaton's government offices. Many of the three hundred letters were written on clay tablets, at about the time that Isreal was sojourning in Egypt.

Dr. Jastrow tells us:

Although the Hittite hieroglyphics have not as yet been deciphered, the character of the language spoken by the Hittites has been established. It turns out to belong to the "Aryan" or more properly the Indo-European stock—a somewhat surprising discovery, and yet in keeping with the most plausible hypothesis of the origin of the Hittites from the steppes of southern Russia as the starting-point of successive waves of Aryan migration in various directions.

To Indo-European invaders the Hittites owed some of their language, words and grammatical forms similar to the Greek. They not only came in contact with the civilization of the Nile but also for centuries with the splendid civilization of the Aegean and through it with the civilization of the Fertile Crescent. Two years ago, Hrozny, the Austrian scholar, succeeded in deciphering the Hittite cuneiform characters which will undoubtedly lead to a widening of our knowledge of this powerful civilization.

On the Hittite sculptures are depicted two types, one indicating Mongoloid or Tartar features. The other, more often found on Egyptian monuments, is more Indo-European in character, and we see that the Hittite civilization is a mingling of different ethnic types, and that while their racial affiliations are uncertain they seem to approach those of the modern Armenians whose ancestors they possibly are. The prominent aquiline nose, still considered to be the mark of the Semite, especially of the Jew, was really a feature belonging to the non-Semitic Hittites, through inter-marriage passed on to the Hebrews.

As early as 1956 B. C. (a date fixed on astronomical grounds), the Hittites invaded Babylonia and at the same early time they are said to have been in Palestine. It is now believed that they, in alliance with the nomads, wrested the throne of Egypt from the native rulers and occupied it for a time as the Hyksos or Shepherd kings. Alliances were formed by Egypt and Babylon against this growing power and we see the consequent rapid expansion of militarism.

The Egyptians won out in a decisive battle on the Orontes in 1295 B. C., but war continued until 1280, when the famous treaty was made of which we have both the Egyptian and Hittite accounts. The Hittite king, Khetasar, then did an unusual thing. He visited Egypt with a vast number of vassals, carried gifts of gold and silver, and gave his daughter in marriage to the Pharaoh. The princess was given an Egyptian name and a prominent position at court. The peace was undisturbed for forty-six years, though it involved the sacrifice of the ambition of Ramses for conquest in Asia. It is significant that the rise of the Hebrews into power under David and Solomon (1000-950) coincides with the decline of the Hittite power in Asia Minor through constant encounter with the well organized Assyrians, until under Sargon, Carchemish, their capital city on the Euphrates, was crushed and their power broken.

Explorations show the style of architecture to be European rather than Oriental. Khatti, the ancient capital and a fortified city, was situated on the slope of a hill, 3,000 feet above the sea. The walls rest on solid foundations of stone and indicate the great progress made by the Hittites in the building art.

Characteristic of the Hittite religion were the "Holy Cities;" such were their capital cities containing temples. They were also Cities of Refuge to which the homicide could escape with safety. Like the Hebrew tabernacle the temple consisted of an outer court, an inner sanctuary which again contained a Holy of Holies, entered only by the high priest and his companions. Cone-like columns at the entrance symbolized the goddess of fertility. In the temple was the throne of the Sun-god and many statues. The images of "the great mother" were covered with breasts, to indicate that she was but mother-earth from whom mankind derived their means of life. Her attributes were borrowed from those of the Babylonian Istar, and she was the primary object of worship. With the god, her husband, and son, she formed a triad found throughout Asia Minor under various names. According to the Cilician mythology the Hittite deities were believed to have been the children of earth and sky. The Mother-god represented the earth while the god was the Sky. The sun-god too was adored. With the introduction of Babylonian art the deities of the Hittites and Asiatic faith put on human shape and it is in this shape that they are usually pictured on the monuments. In the famous treaty the supreme Hittite god was called Sutekh, the goddess Antarata, the Semitic Astoreth, who by the Greeks was transformed into Derketo and who illustrates the influence of Babylonian religious thought and influence upon the Hittites and the people of Asia Minor. This is also seen in the universal symbols, the Babylonian eagle and the winged sun-disk from the Nile.

Sayce says the appeal to us of those forgotten people is not alone because of the influence they once exercised on the fortunes of the Chosen People but also on account of the debt which the civilization of Europe owes to them.

Our culture is the inheritance we have received from ancient Greece, and the first beginnings of Greek culture were derived from the Hittite conquerors of Asia Minor. The Hittite warriors who still guard the Pass of Karabel on the very threshold of Asia, are symbols of the position occupied by the race in the education of mankind. The Hittites carried the time-worn civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt to the furthest boundary of Asia, and there handed them over to the West in the grey dawn of European history.

QUESTIONS.

(1) What two discoveries have thrown much light on the Hittite nation as an important civilization?

(2) What can you say of its geographic position in the light of subsequent history?

(3) Do you find anything unique in the religion of the Hittites?

(4) Are we indebted to them from a cultural standpoint?

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE CRISIS IN MEXICO.

According to the press, the next number on our international program must be the pacification of Mexico. It is indeed regarded as our plain duty to bring order to that distracted country and it is agreed that the best way to do this is to extirpate the distractors, meanwhile taking charge of the national property. Fortunately this will offer little embarrassment as 47 per cent of it (1,057,000,000 out of 2,434,000,000) is already in American hands.

It is moreover urged that we must act at once. The reasons for this policy I may set down as the "Ten Points."

1. It may be that the Covenant of Nations will come into operation. This would give the world at large the right to pry into our methods and purposes. That would be intolerable.

2. President Carranza goes out of office in 1920. His successor may be of a different type, which might prove very embarrassing. As it is, President Carranza can always be counted on to return an irritating answer in a crisis; by his friends he is described as a Spanish replica of the Senior Senator from Massachusetts. Nevertheless the Mexican President may as well learn from our experience that public property once deeded to a corporation is gone forever, and that all effort to regain it is energy altogether wasted.

3. At El Paso in 1916, when we proposed to police Mexico, "the Old Man put his foot down." But a change of administration is due in 1921, and we must be ready for the emergency.

4. Now is the time to act. We may never again find a Congressional Investigation Committee so steadfast as today. We may trust the Senator from New Mexico and his colleague from Connecticut to deal most impartially with the rights of our land and oil holding corporations.

5. If we hesitate we may have to face the claim that a Treaty of Arbitration, signed in 1849, provides that all differences shall be referred to a world court, and that the Pious Fund dispute concerning the California Missions was composed under this treaty, Mexico accepting the adverse verdict and paying the sum claimed.

6. If we delay some one may compile a list of outrages on our side of the boundary, or even unearth the record of the El Paso "Holocaust" of March 6, 1916, which led three days later to the raid on Columbus. We may even find some one asking for the title deeds of the Standard Oil, Mexican Eagle, and other corporations devoted to the uplift of Mexico.

7. To be compelled to maintain a subsidized brigand in order to ward off unfair national taxes is a humiliation to these corporations and to the great nation under their control.

8. The boundary line from Brazos Santiago to Tia Juana, running chiefly through desert country, is unreasonably long ,too long for us to keep in order, and its gulches on both sides are beset with horse-thieves and cattle-rustlers (locally known as caballeros and vaqueros) making them as unsafe as the edge of the black belt in Chicago or a San Francisco street at midnight. We must therefore blot out this line. To this end the boundary should be moved southward to the Canal Zone, in which case we should have less than fifty miles to patrol instead of 1,756 as at present.

9. We are the "Colosseo del Norte," and ahead of us looms the still more colossal figure of "Manifest Destiny." The "lesser breeds without the law" must be taught to know their place.

10. Only through wars and rumors of wars can we maintain universal compulsory military service, the only remedy we know to counter the self-determination of labor.

Is there not somewhere a proverb reading: "If we hold the money we care not who makes the laws"?

The Public. —*David Starr Jordan.*

WOMEN DISTRUST BOTH OLD PARTIES.

The women of the United States are on the eve of political enfranchisement. The National Amendment will undoubtedly be ratified by 36 states before the election of 1920.

Now that women are ready the question is, where will they go? They are not partisan. They have no political inheritance. They have considered themselves Republicans or Democrats because their fathers or husbands are, but distinctly NOT from any love of the party itself. Where will they go?

The new women voters are shocked at the High Cost of Living; they know what the trouble is. They know that the men at the head of the great trusts are grinding the people. Everybody knows that, even the children know it. The Sherman anti-trust law was enacted to prevent combinations, but it was only enforced on local milk dealers and other helpless groups. Why is this? Because men who are ordinarily brave are not politically brave. The powerful corporations contribute vast sums to the treasuries of the political parties. No politician has the courage to jeopardize his political party and so he votes to "investigate" and "investigate" and that is the end of it.

Women care for their families. They know that it is not right for the father to toil unceasingly while the family barely subsists. Women are saying: "If the political parties as now constituted can not be divorced from beef and steel without dying, then let them die." Let us get a new party, one that is not afraid.

When men open their state campaigns they have bands and fireworks, and sometimes a little lady falling from a balloon with a parachute—to enthuse the voters. The new voters demand, not bands and fireworks, but lower prices, and the political party which realizes this will be the successful party of the near future.

* * *

Again, women are unalterably opposed to war. They said little about it in 1917 because they were powerless and because, in this great land of liberty, not only was the press censored and the lips of men sealed, but people were chloroformed lest they should think. Women were silent observers. They could not help themselves; they sent their sons and prayed and hoped. They were promised a League of Nations, no more wars, no more massacre and slaughter. They were promised a world safe for democracy, safe for the people, for poor people, for women, for children.

Then the proposed covenant for the League of Nations appeared without disarmament—just the same old alliances which have been coming up every few hundred years. But perhaps there is something there, you suggest, which the women can't see. Some great statesman will surely point it out, you argue; it must be there. No, it is not there, for the Secretary of War recommends universal military training, a large standing army, continued conscription and all the other things which make for war.

When women had no power they could only weep, but this is now a day for action, not for tears. The political leaders say that no political party can live which does not accept this so-called League of Nations along with universal training and a standing army and side treaties. Well, let it die!

Why is the present political party in power? Because it kept us out of war.

The new woman voter is all dressed up and no where to go. The question is: "Is any one wise enough to prepare a place for her?"

—*Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton.*

La Follettes.

C. O.'s AT FORT DOUGLAS SUFFERING.

Boston—That the workers and conscientious objectors in the federal prison at Fort Leavenworth are not the only ones who are being cruelly treated by the authorities, is apparent from evidence regarding Fort Douglas, Utah, recently received by the Union for Democratic Control of this city. Following are some of the facts for the authenticity of which this group of Boston liberals vouches:

On August 18, two days before a group of C. O.'s were scheduled for release from Ft. Douglas, Col. Byram, commandant, lined up 120 objectors and put them, except six, in solitary confinement on bread and water for refusal to work under military orders, though they had performed voluntary work including fencing for their own internment ever since their arrival from Leavenworth. The commandant refuses to issue new shoes, and as the men go barefoot, they suffer intensely.

Howard Moore was brutally beaten by Sergeant Brant, the bones of his right hand shattered by a blow of a pistol or bayonet, and he sustains a serious head wound. Not only is he in no condition to endure brutalities, but is physically unfit for imprisonment.

All of the men have been deprived of credit for good behavior and threatened with new court martial at the end of their sentences.

Visitors have been debarred on regular visiting days and mail privileges denied. What cruelties are practised with men incommunicado may be surmised from previous experience.

As a final act of cruelty and dishonor, all releases have been cancelled.

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